STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENN.

The New
REPUBLIC

September 1, 1941

Germany Is Losing

by John Scott

The Nature of the Crisis . . . . . *Editorial*

Russia's Morale—and Ours . . . . *Bruce Bliven*

Blackout or Lightup? . . . . . *A. F. Dickerson*

Should We Declare War?

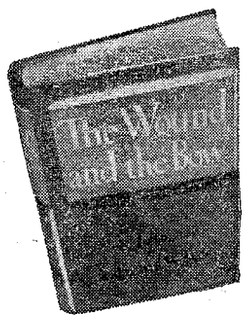
21 New Republic Contributors Answer

FIFTEEN CENTS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Two Important Contributions to American Literature

The Wound and the Bow



SEVEN STUDIES IN LITERATURE

BY EDMUND WILSON

"These arbitrarily integrated essays on the wound and the bow theme are by far the most interesting criticism of the year. They combine an exact information and scholarship with shrewd and searching penetration into the personal life of the artist." — *New York Times* $3.00

Let Us Now Praise Famous Men

BY JAMES AGEE AND WALKER EVANS

In the summer of 1936, James Agee and Walker Evans went to Alabama to portray in works and photographs the daily life of three typical tenant families.

"Mr. Agee is not only a poet but a corking good journalist when he needs to be . . . he succeeds in the way Mr. Evans's photographs succeed. . . . With the combined sensitive perception of a poet, the exact, almost microscopic recording of a scientist, and the generic sharpness of observation marking a good reporter, he shows us places and things, camera-eye plain."— *New York Herald Tribune* $3.50

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 105, NO. 9 NEW YORK, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1941 NUMBER 1396

The Invasion of Iran

For once in the whole history of the war, the British have stolen a march on Hitler. The invasion of Iran simultaneously by British and Russian troops is an action of great military and political value, which seems to have been carried out in an efficient and determined manner. Iran is at present the best possible roadway for the Allies to the main immediate front of the war against Hitler. To realize its importance we have only to consider the situation if it were in Hitler's hands, as it probably would have been if the British and Russians had waited much longer. Iran controls the movement of oil from Irak, badly needed by the British for their military operations. It provides a good route for American and British supplies going to Russia. We hope, however, that our timid State Department will not now persuade Mr. Roosevelt to stop the movement of supplies to Vladivostok. The Far East is an entirely separate strategic matter, and the reasons why we should call Japan's bluff are just as good now as they were a week ago.

Senate Tax Bill

By recommending the reduction of the income-tax exemption to $1,500 for married persons and $750 for the single, the Senate Finance Committee has taken a step in the right direction. Several more steps are needed. The most important is to formulate an excess-profits tax that will take the profit out of war, give the Treasury as much more as it needs, and deliver one body-blow to inflation. It would also be desirable to simplify the collection of the individual tax, for the benefit both of the government and of the taxpayer, by arranging to collect a basic tax (other than surtaxes) at the source. Any employee whose recompense was at a rate above the exemption would be subject to this deduction; he would thus pay in small instalments and as painlessly as possible. Additional income and surtaxes could be handled in the usual way by returns. Finally, the Senate should lighten excise and sales taxes, which also bear upon those of small income.

How Much Gasoline?

Seldom has a subject of immediate importance to so many people been in such confusion as the gasoline shortage in the Northeast. First, we are left in doubt as to whether the shortage is necessary and if so, how great it is. The strong statements of Secretary Ickes are contradicted by others; the railroads—which are under suspicion in the matter because of their long opposition to new pipelines—say they have plenty of cars, but the oil administration declares it is unable to find them. Finally there is disagreement about the effects of voluntary economy, and a muddle in the effort to restrict sales through rationing dealers alone, who are not able to administer such a measure properly, if only because one motorist can patronize numerous dealers.

We need, first, a clear and thorough statement about the size of the shortage, the reasons for it, and the efforts undertaken to increase the supply. This should be followed by periodic reports to the public. Second, if there is a real and continuing shortage, there must be a competent rationing system. This will be no easy task, since our working life is so dependent on the use of automobiles, and individual needs are so varied. But it can be worked out as in Britain—a basic ration, with supplementary allowances for those who can demonstrate a real need. Americans are willing to endure necessary sacrifices, but they are not willing to

CONTENTS

The Week 267
Editorial
The Nature of the Crisis 270
General Articles
Germany Is Losing the War . . John Scott 272
Russia's Morale—and Ours . . Bruce Bliven 273
Blackout or Lightup? . . A. F. Dickerson 275
Washington Notes . . . . . T. R. B. 277
The Man in the Movies . . Otis Ferguson 278
The Bandwagon 279
Correspondence 279
Books in Review
Ancestors . . . . . Malcolm Cowley 282
South of the Border . . Bertram D. Wolfe 283
The First Year and the Next . Michael Straight 284
Leave Marriage out of This . . Otis Ferguson 284
The Bronte Fantasies . . . . Louise Bogan 285
Underground . . . . Walter N. Polakov 286
A Reader's List 286

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1941, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49TH ST., NEW YORK, N. Y.
ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879
PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

suffer needlessly through the stupidity of those in authority, or to see their efforts negated by others who do not care for the general good.

Those Defense Figures

We can sympathize with the President's glee at catching Senator Byrd over a large barrel and with his trousers in a state of collapse. The Senator is sometimes careless with fact, and we ourselves had the pleasure of catching him off base in his classic misrepresentation of the defense-strike situation. At the same time we wonder if in this case Senator Byrd isn't basically right and the President basically wrong. We accept all the President's figures on defense production and, where they conflict, none of Byrd's. But Senator Byrd reflects the view of almost every candid and informed observer when he says production is not going as well as it should in this country. To know what our soldiers lack, and what we are *not* sending to the Russian and British battle fronts, is but to confirm this view. If the Senator supported this thesis with the wrong figures, who is to blame? The unadmitted but effective Washington censorship is more and more making information a military secret. This seems to be true particularly when the statistics make Washington uncomfortable, as in the case of our figures on exports to Japan. The only way we can get at the truth these days is to wait until the down-to-earth data are trotted out to club some critic. We respectfully suggest that Washington be more candid with the country.

No More United Front

The American Labor Party has rejected an offer of unity from the "Progressive Committee to Rebuild the American Labor Party," and in our judgment quite rightly. It is well known that the Progressive Committee is in fact a communist organization set up when the American Labor Party, late in 1939, bitterly criticized the trade and non-aggression pacts between Hitler and Stalin. The Progressive Committee since then has shown all the fatal earmarks of being just a Stalinist stooge. Its new friendliness is easily traced to the German attack on Russia on June 23, when the American Communists suddenly abandoned their efforts to sabotage the war and tried to reconstitute the old United Front. It is significant that the Progressive Committee leaders have not hesitated to name county committeemen for the coming primaries, in an effort to capture more of the legal machinery of the ALP.

We hope the ALP will continue to turn a cold shoulder to the American Stalinists, while endorsing, as it has already done, all possible military aid to Russia in the present war. The Stalinists are the gravest liability that help for Russia could carry. Theirs is the kiss of death. If they were accepted as allies in the municipal campaign, they would injure Mayor LaGuardia's chances and not only strike a blow at municipal reform, but perhaps aid in defeating one of the country's leading supporters of all-out aid to the Allies.

The Nazi Move into Morocco

From a confidential source, The New Republic has reliable information about what is happening in French Morocco. The Nazis are rapidly moving in and should soon be in a position to take control openly if they wish. Their commercial agents swarm through the country, with plenty of cash, trying to buy anything and everything possible—real estate, coal mines, factories and department stores. There is no one to offer them effective resistance. General Weygand has few and bad troops, and doesn't really want to resist the Nazis even if he could. Here again the American policy of appeasement is a flat failure. A large part of the French fleet is at Casablanca—ten torpedo boats out of twenty, five pocket torpedo boats out of twelve and at least fifteen to twenty submarines, which are kept ready to put to sea at a moment's notice. The Moroccans dislike the Nazis, but are not prepared to stand up against them unaided. If the United States had acted vigorously six months or a year ago, the German effectiveness in Morocco could be at least 90 percent less than it is. Of all the recent mistakes of our State Department, this may prove to have been one of the worst.

The Case of Private Habinyak

One way not to improve the morale of the army is to let things happen like the case of Private John Habinyak. Habinyak was drafted a couple of months ago, and after he had been in the army exactly eleven days he refused to obey various orders of his officers. For this, he was sentenced to ten years and nine months in prison at hard labor. We don't doubt that Habinyak was a most aggravating soldier. There are reports that even before he was inducted into the army he expressed sympathy for Hitler and boasted that he would find some way to get out of serving. It is obvious that instantaneous obedience to orders is the foundation of army discipline. Even so, his sentence can only be described as outrageous. It has now been cut down by the War Department to three years, with a possibility of release after thirty months. This is obviously a compromise between what the offense deserved—a couple of months in the guardhouse—and saving face for the officers who imposed the earlier sentence. The effect on morale would have been a good deal better if the War Department had had sufficient courage to stick to the course of justice.

Incompetence at the Top

The army is under fire for other things than the treatment of the drafted men. The report of the Truman Committee of the Senate investigating national defense is a blistering document. Here, before an un-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

biased committee of Senators who had access to all the data and before whom every active and retired army officer with a story to tell had ample opportunity to state his case, we get a picture of unexampled slothfulness, lack of planning, stupidity, and cynicism regarding public funds—all relieved by so few extenuating circumstances as to set what is almost a record for congressional investigations of governmental agencies.

"The cost of World War camps per man was only $216, which was the subject of great criticism at the time as being excessive in amount," the committee report states. "The present camps are not permanent camps. Approximately 427,113 men will be housed in tents at an average cost of $481 per man, and 739,324 men will be housed permanently in barracks at an average cost of $697 per man." The committee condemned the manner in which sites were chosen, the lack of acumen in buying lumber, the incompetent personnel, and the army's willingness to hand out excessive sums to contractors, engineers and those who rented equipment to the government.

The Ultimate Barbarity

Nazi soldiers aided by 16,000 French police raided the Eleventh Arrondissement of Paris and packed away to concentration camps 7,000 more Frenchmen, to be added to the 150,000 hostages already seized. Lieutenant-General Ernst von Schaumberg, German commander in Paris, has issued a formal edict, announcing that for any "criminal act" against German soldiers, "a number of hostages corresponding to the gravity of the act committed will be shot." This has of course been the matter-of-fact policy of Hitler's men since the start of the war. Uncounted thousands of Poles and Yugoslavs have been slaughtered as a deterrent to their countrymen who dared resist Hitler's right to make them slaves. To see the policy followed so unblushingly in France, however, and to see Frenchmen helping commit such acts of savagery against other Frenchmen, is something new. As hatred of the Nazis and hope of dislodging them mounts, there will be more of it to watch in France. It is not a pleasing spectacle but it is worthy of attention by Americans.

WPA Workers for Industry

That there has been a deep gulf between WPA employment and private employment is well known. Industry as a taxpayer has complained bitterly about the difficulty of getting men removed from relief rolls. But industry as an employer has, except in a few splendid but isolated local campaigns, done nothing about it. A move has now been made to bridge the gap, and it is a commentary on the social drift of our time that government, not industry, has provided the impetus for it. What WPA does is simple enough: selected men from its rolls are placed in private plants at no cost to the employer, for a period up to four weeks. If a man turns out well, the employer puts him on the regular payroll, and WPA loses interest in him. If the experiment does not work, the man goes back to his former WPA status. This plan worked well during quiet experiments of many months in Chicago and other cities. The fundamental purpose is to overcome the prejudice of employers against anyone who, as they suppose, has been tainted by WPA. Once the WPA employee is represented in the flesh as a man anxious to please and to hold down a private job—and often one who has had special WPA training for defense work—the employer has been fair in passing judgment on him.

Is Health Essential?

The thousands and tens of thousands of defense workers who have swept into industrial towns and cities and the establishment of hundreds of army camps and naval bases near small communities make imperative an expansion of public facilities—sewage systems, water supplies, schools, roads—in those places. In most of the swollen municipalities there has been no increase in revenues from taxation comparable to the gain in population. Congress appropriated $150,000,000 through the Lanham Act, on June 28, to aid these communities. That seemed to many people a small amount of money to cover the country-wide work that had to be done. One look at the evidence now will convince anyone of its inadequacy. At a hearing before the Tolan Committee on Interstate Migration, San Diego officials estimated that the new water supply and other public facilities necessary in that one city would cost $30,000,000. Other cities testified in a similar vein. Up to August 11, the Federal Works Agency had received 1,236 formal applications for projects under the act, calling for an expenditure of about $395,000,000. The Agency puts the minimum demand at $500,000,000 and expects to be asked for much more than that as the defense program develops.

Spokesmen for economy are having a happy time talking about the wickedness of federal expenditures for "non-essentials," seldom pausing to define the terms. Is the prevention of epidemics, or the education of American children essential? If so, additional appropriations must be made under the Lanham Act to maintain decent living conditions in the defense boom towns.

Last Week

Our old friend and colleague in weekly journalism, Oswald Garrison Villard, wrote a letter of some 2,000 words to the editor of The New York Times telling where the defect in the United States Army lies. In sentences that thundered down The Times' quiet columns like tanks on a lawn, Mr. Villard drove to his point, which was that "there is no system whatever of accountability in the army—not for the lower officers or the higher officers or the War Department." Inspectors do not inspect, said Mr. Villard, retiring

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

boards do not retire, courts martial do not dismiss and there is no system of examination for fitness for promotion; and he proved it. Then he blew his article up. "If the country is really in great danger; which I for one do not for one moment believe," he concluded, Congress should investigate, etc. . . . We find it hard to believe that a man as intelligent as Mr. Villard could be so calmly confident of our national security in the face of all the overwhelming evidence to the contrary; we find it equally hard to see why, if he feels as secure as he says, he is so disturbed about the state of the army. . . . Mayor LaGuardia has assigned Grover Whalen the job of drawing up a plan to conserve gasoline "without disturbing the business life and without causing undue inconvenience in the social and family life of our community." This sounds like a lovely dream and Mr. Whalen is certainly the man to floodlight it with rainbow colors. . . . Somewhat impractical also were the men, supposedly FBI agents, who tapped Harry Bridges' telephone at the Edison Hotel in New York City, never for a moment thinking that several reporters were watching them from across the street as they sat in the room next to Bridges wearing their headphones. Wiretapping is illegal under federal law.

The Nature of the Crisis

IN THESE CRITICAL WEEKS, when history is taking one turn or the other though as yet we do not know which, the focal event remains the meeting at sea of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill. It was, as Mr. Churchill said, profoundly symbolic, but the question remains, symbolic of what? If it merely meant good intentions and good fellowship, without a sufficient plan of action to effectuate them, it is symbolic of democratic indecision at a time when shrewdness and vigor were indispensable. If on the other hand it meant taking the political and military initiative to win the war, it was symbolic of democratic ability to face actualities as well as to invoke symbols.

The magnificent fight of the Russians is laying opportunity at the feet of the enemies of the Axis. What are they prepared to do with it? If we never before looked an unpleasant reality squarely in the face, we must at least confront this one—that the opportunity will never come again. No other power in the world, save Britain's and our own, is capable of giving Hitler even momentary pause. France is gone, the rest of Europe is gone. Shall we rely on Turkey, Spain, China, even Brazil perhaps, to save us after Russia is gone? Or will Britain and the United States act now, in accord with the Soviet Union, to turn the scales against the enemy of security before we have to make a last-ditch fight?

The military and naval chiefs were there, and could have prepared a plan of action. If they did, we should not expect anyone to reveal it for the information of the enemy. But no word that has come from the conference indicates that all-out action was decided upon, to carry out any strategic plan that may have been formulated.

Without any detailed military knowledge, it is possible to see the strategic opportunities. Number one on the list is obviously to support Russia, to keep her in the field not only until winter comes, as she seems about to do in her own behalf, but throughout the winter and the succeeding spring and summer. For this, one thing is absolutely necessary and another highly desirable. The first is to make sure that she will have enough military equipment, after the tremendous losses of the fighting and the evacuation of whatever industrial and agricultural territory she is compelled to abandon in the west. That means open supply lines, plenty of ships and even greater war production than we had planned for Britain and ourselves. It means absolute protection of oil sources in Irak, Iran and the Caucasus. The other is to create a diversion on a different front so that the Germans will have less force to use against the Russians. The two might possibly be combined, as by an expedition in Norway to secure the Murmansk route.

Of no less importance is a decisive victory in the Battle of the Atlantic, not only to keep the route open to Britain but to reduce the wastage of shipping and permit more merchant vessels and warships to be used elsewhere.

It is immediately essential, too, to stop Japan in her tracks: if she goes further south she can deprive the democracies of indispensable supplies from the East, cut the British Empire in two and block the westward route to Asia Minor; if she attacks the USSR she will help German arms directly. In any event we must keep the route open to Vladivostok. And it is necessary not only to immobilize Japan, but finally to remove her threat to the anti-Hitler allies. This would release Russian troops in Siberia, enable China to win, and permit British-American naval forces to concentrate on their tasks in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. Keeping Hitler occupied for another year in Russia would enable us to bring Japan to her knees, if she were foolhardy enough to resist.

Finally it is possible to draw the net tighter about Hitler in Europe and Africa, not only as a means of defense of the Western Hemisphere, but as a preparation for a final knockout blow, after Russia is saved and Japan is removed from the war. Does this mean surrounding Dakar, regaining Libya, even an expedition

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to Italy or a recapture of Greece? Here again the advisable long-term strategy could be served by action which would be of immediate value as a diversion.

Several steps have been taken since the Atlantic conference that are in harmony with such objectives. Russia has been promised supplies, and a conference is to be held in Moscow to adopt a plan. Meanwhile we have started ships moving toward Vladivostok. Britain and Russia together have forestalled Hitler in Iran, thus at one blow safeguarding the oil in that country, protecting the rear of the Caucasus wells, and keeping open the line of communication from the Persian Gulf and Asia Minor so that supplies may use that route, and British troops, if they are necessary to check Hitler's advance along the Black Sea, may enter the Soviet Union. If the Germans, stalled in Russia, try to go through Turkey, the Allies will be in a position to resist that threat also. This nation has contributed something both to its own defense and to these activities by planning to open a regular air route across the Atlantic to West Africa, which will have a base near Dakar, and thence to an unspecified terminus in the Near East.

Mr. Churchill made it clear that the United States is negotiating with Japan to stop her further advance, and that if the attempt fails, Britain will act in unison with this country. It is not certain, however, how far in this direction the President intends to go. Will he insist on free passage to Vladivostok if Japan interferes with our shipments? Will he use the navy if Japan strikes further south? Will he compromise with Japan on the basis of the status quo, if she merely promises not to do anything more? There is yet no assurance either that this country will resist if Japan persists in her aggression, or that we shall really use the respite given by the Russians to remove permanently the Japanese threat.

All the rest is silence. There is no sign that we intend to throw our weight into the Battle of the Atlantic by the use of sufficient naval vessels and planes to sink submarines, cut losses and permit the diversion of ships to other areas. There is every sign that we have not promised to participate in, or even to constitute a fighting reserve for, military or naval action by the British in Europe or Africa.

Mr. Roosevelt came back saying that this country is no nearer to war than before the conference, and later quoted a passage from Lincoln indicating his belief that the people are not awake to the danger of the crisis, that they think it can be met by strategy, without getting hurt. Mr. Churchill answered the question whether the United States is close to war by saying that one man knows—Hitler, who takes on one enemy at a time. The implication was clear that he did not expect us soon to join the war by an act of our own, or Hitler to force us to do so unless he could first conquer Russia and Britain. The administration has done nothing that would commit us; even the new air line, it was careful to state, would fly over non-belligerent territory. We are still waiting, while the precious weeks and months pass by.

But if we are not willing to use the navy and possibly the army as well, we cannot win the Battle of the Atlantic promptly; it may be stalemated for long or even lost. That will hamper supplying Russia as well as action in any other quarter. If we will not fight, we cannot stop Japan if she persists, and much less can we remove her threat while Hitler is busy elsewhere. We cannot reinforce the British sufficiently so that Russia can be relieved by diversion, or the Axis blocked off from West Africa and eventually the Americas, or bases prepared for eventual winning of the war.

The reluctance of this country to go to war now means that the golden opportunity is slipping past. It is as easy to foresee the chain of consequences that will ensue as it was to foresee the disasters implicit in the Munich pact, when Chamberlain brought back what he thought was peace for Britain. Russia beaten, Japan supreme in East Asia, Britain fighting alone against terrific odds, Africa Hitlerized, South America penetrated and pacified by the Nazis, this nation surrounded by a world of aggressive anti-democrats and compelled either to fight alone or be permanently militarized, even if she does not in the end succumb to her own internal weakness and totalitarian intrigue —these are the probable alternatives to courageous and immediate action. Each of us who refuses at once to use his personal pressure for war will share the responsibility for any calamities that follow.

One might excuse Chamberlain at Munich on the ground that it was impossible to foresee the enormous successes of Hitler; but we have had plenty of warnings. Nation after nation has fallen because it chose to wait, to stand alone. Whether that is also to be the fate of the American dream depends now, not on Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, France, the Balkan States and Greece, the Baltic States, China, Italy, Spain, not even on Russia and Britain. It depends on ourselves.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

Editors: BRUCE BLIVEN, MALCOLM COWLEY, GEORGE SOULE, STARK YOUNG; *Washington Editor:* MICHAEL STRAIGHT; *Treasurer:* DANIEL MEBANE; *Assistant Editors:* NIGEL DENNIS, BYRON DEXTER, OTIS FERGUSON, ELIZABETH HULING; *Contributing Editors:* H. N. BRAILSFORD, VAN WYCK BROOKS, JULIAN HUXLEY, MAX LERNER, E. C. LINDEMAN, R. G. TUGWELL; *Advertising Manager:* E. G. WOOD

SINGLE COPIES, FIFTEEN CENTS; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIVE DOLLARS; CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; FOREIGN, SIX DOLLARS; THREE MONTHS' TRIAL, ONE DOLLAR

EDITED AND PRODUCED UNDER UNION CONDITIONS BY CONTRACT WITH THE BOOK AND MAGAZINE GUILD, LOCAL 18, UOPWA, CIO

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Germany Is Losing the War

REGARDLESS OF THE OUTCOME of the current military operations in Russia, Germany is losing the war. The attack on the Soviet Union on June 22 was the turning point. Hitler has nothing to show for his heavy losses in men, equipment and materials in Russia except a war on two fronts, and a now completely blockaded Germany.

In a ten-day trip from Moscow to Vladivostok just before the outbreak of the war I saw what Hitler is facing—an immense country whose economic resources had for two years been placed partially at Hitler's disposal, which is now solidly and fanatically anti-German. During the year previous to the Nazi attack Germany received from Russia more than a million tons of petroleum products, a million and a half tons of grain and about as much fodder, substantial quantities of cotton, manganese, woodpulp and many other important commodities. In addition to this, up to 100 railroad cars a day were placed at the disposal of German exporters and importers to transport their purchases and sales in the Far East and in Iran. Thousands of tons of soya beans from Manchukuo, rice and cotton from Iran, and all kinds of American-made manufactured goods bought by German agents in Shanghai, found their way into Germany through Russia.

Now Russia is bitterly and irrevocably anti-Nazi, anti-German. The peasants are patriotic defenders of "Holy Russia" while the city dwellers fight tooth and nail to protect the fruits of their revolution against a fascist invader. The Russian people is fighting Germany, and it is the Russian people rather than the Red Army which is defeating Germany. If every Russian soldier now engaged against Hitler's hordes died of cholera tomorrow, the peoples of the Soviet Union would remain, and with their genius for sabotage and subversive activity, their antipathy to organization, they could (if Germany did not withdraw from the Eastern Front) engage her efforts for many months.

In 1918 there were just over 500,000 German soldiers in the Ukraine trying to "keep order," and move wheat, bacon and other food products to starving Germany. They received almost nothing, and were continuously engaged in minor military operations against bands of Ukrainian peasants, rebel villages, or Bolshevik-organized "partisans." These operations were costly for the Germans, and the net result was nothing. Today the peoples of the Soviet Union will be even more difficult to handle. It is plain that a German military victory would be only the beginning of Hitler's headaches.

During the year previous to Hitler's attack on Russia I lived in Moscow and had an opportunity to converse with a number of German military men, journalists and diplomats. A trip into the Balkans and numerous conversations with Germans and others there gave me an opportunity to form certain opinions with reference to Germany's plans in Russia.

Germany's main aim in case of a Russian-German war, I was told, would be to knock out the Red Armies —destroy their fighting power.

The second aim would be to set up a nominally independent, friendly Ukrainian state.

The third step would be to terminate the war, create a sort of "Vichy" or "Manchukuo" government in Russia, minus the Ukraine and the Caucasus. This government would coöperate with Germany by allowing German army garrisons in Vladivostok, the Komandorskie Islands and other convenient places.

In order to accomplish these things, the German High Command resolved to strike the main blow in the center, in the direction of Smolensk, thence to drive past Moscow to Kursk, Saratov and then either to Astrakhan or Rostov. Thus the Ukraine and northern Caucasus would have been encircled, the populations of these rich areas spared the embittering and destructive experience of military operations on their land, while the strong Red Army formations on the Prut and Dniester would have been surrounded and cut off. The Ukraine would fall like a ripe plum in Germany's lap, and oil and grain would begin to arrive in the Reich in large quantities almost by return mail.

After that it would be useless to carry on the war. Germany did not want to march across Siberia. She would stop fighting and help the Russians set up a new government, willing to coöperate with Berlin.

This, roughly, was what Hitler had in mind. He expected to accomplish it in about two months.

What actually happened? First, the drive in the Smolensk direction was stopped. The crack German spear-head troops were knocked out, and the second-line units they threw in failed to pierce the Russian defenses. Then the German High Command ordered the advance into the Ukraine. Hitler's heroes campaigned all across the Ukraine from the Prut to the Dnieper, making bitter enemies of the population. Everywhere they found the earth scorched, bridges blown up, factories gutted and villages burned. Everywhere they are harried and sniped at by sullen, hostile peasants.

Second, the main Red Armies remain intact, in the field, and apparently prepared to fight indefinitely. These armies are operating already on bases behind the Volga, even behind the Urals. It was my good fortune to see a number of the new industrial towns in the Urals and the western part of Siberia. There is Tagil, where a railroad rolling-stock and armament factory has been functioning on a large scale for nearly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a decade; Magnitogorsk, an immense steel and chemical center; Ufa with its huge airplane-motor plant; Chelyabinsk with its tank and tractor plants. These and many more plants are in the Ural mountains. They function for the most part on raw materials and fuels from parts of Russia other than the Ukraine and the Caucasus, with the one very important exception of oil. They can serve as bases for Red Army operations for many months.

Thus the Germans face an active Eastern Front through the winter, for snow flies in Central Russia in late September. The Germans calculated on terminating their campaign by the end of August, and did not prepare for wintering in Russia under combat conditions. Instead of a few sentries and patrols, Hitler will have to maintain an army of well over 100 divisions in Russia this winter. They have no proper coats, boots, no equipment to keep internal-combustion engines running at temperatures of minus forty degrees Fahrenheit or so. The German Army is in for a bad time.

The Russians, on the other hand, are prepared. They have industries, supply dumps and equipment far back in their immense country, and can keep an army in the field along an active front running perhaps from Murmansk to Rostov. But they must have additional oil from the United States and Britain.

If Japan and Russia become involved in the Far East, it is doubtful that the Soviet-German position will be seriously affected for some time. Russia has approximately 1,700,000 troops in the three Far Eastern military districts, some 2,000 planes, and a completely independent supply and ordnance system. These should be able to deal quite successfully with the Japanese, particularly with American coöperation at sea.

While Germany is bogging itself down in Russia the British attacks are making themselves effectively felt in the west. Germany is losing the war in Russia.

It may well be, of course, that the Russians are also losing the war in Russia. Soviet economy always operated on a rather small margin. If the riches of the Ukraine and the North Caucasus be lost to Russia (whether the Germans get them, or whether they are destroyed is irrelevant here) there will be great suffering and privation in the rest of Russia. Heavy Anglo-American exports may help, but this shot in the arm cannot be expected to bolster up the entire economy of the country indefinitely. There may be serious trouble in Russia. The stability of the regime is contingent on Stalin's ability to see to it that people have at least a minimum of food and consumers' goods. If the war produces an economic breakdown and the people no longer receive the modest rations to which they are accustomed, then there may be political difficulties. Stalin's regime may be succeeded by a government led by men about whom we know no more than the world at large knew of Lenin and Zinoviev and Trotsky in 1917. This possibility does not, however, seem immediate, and in my opinion if such a situation does arise there is a good chance that the new government will go on fighting Germany anyway. For the moment the Red Army is fighting the war of the democracies, and Russia certainly deserves, and at once, all the aid that Britain and America can possibly spare.

JOHN SCOTT

Russia's Morale—and Ours

THE WORD "MORALE" has been appearing in the public press a great deal lately and in two connections. There has been talk about our own morale, which seems to be bad, both among civilians and soldiers. There is talk about the Russian morale, which, so far as we can judge from the reports, seems to be good. The Germans even complain of the heroic resistance that the Russians put up, as not conforming to "the rules of civilized warfare"—as though the Germans were acquainted with civilized anything, least of all fighting. Soviet soldiers, cut off and surrounded, keep shooting until they are killed. Russian civilians destroy their homes, all their possessions, without a quaver, and then, down to the small children, march off to the forests and join the guerrilla bands.

By contrast, morale in this country seems to be in a dubious state. President Roosevelt is forced to allude to it. There are disturbing stories out of some army camps that the soldiers are threatening wholesale desertion, that they do not recognize any national emergency, that their chief ambition is at best to get out of their enforced service as quickly as possible. Congress exhibits the worst morale of all, and the Republicans in particular. With the world in flames, the proposal to disband even our pathetic, half-trained army failed in the House by only a single vote. In the midst of rising prices which threaten to become a countrywide disaster, the national legislature calmly shuts up shop and goes home for a vacation, leaving the price-control bill to wait at least another six weeks; previously a House committee had kept Leon Henderson on the stand for many weary days, while his work piled up, asking him irrelevant and time-consuming questions many of which were an insult to his intelligence and a clear indication that the men who asked them were not fit, in character, intelligence or training, to represent anybody, anywhere, in any sort of political assembly.

How does it happen that Russian morale at the moment seems so much better than ours?

The immediate answer will be of course that Russia

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is at war and we are not. It is argued that if this country were invaded, as the Soviet Union has been, our people would spring to arms with equal promptness and courage. A proper comparison would be Russia at peace and the United States at peace.

There is merit in this criticism, though not quite so much as this simple statement implies. Conditions in Russia and the United States in peacetime were so different that comparisons are almost impossible. For many years life in Russia has been desperately hard. She has long had universal compulsory military service. She has also dictated every thought and breath of her people, to an extent few Americans can comprehend. Russians have been allowed to debate, in some degree, the best means of arriving at the goal of successful socialism, but not the desirability of that goal itself. The censorship has existed almost from the beginning of the revolution twenty-four years ago; it got much worse after Lenin's death, and for the past few years, to disagree with Stalin has been about as healthy as jumping out of a tenth-story window.

Americans had been told that largely because of these repressive measures, the people of Russia were disorganized, their confidence broken, their patriotism vanished. It was said their railway trains wouldn't run, the machines made in their factories would break down under any serious test. These reports were evidently false. No nation on earth has stood up any better against the German military might, and only one other —England—can be mentioned in the same breath. The Russian morale in wartime is far better than any outside observer, except the self-blinded and hysterical Stalin worshippers, believed possible. It is therefore plain that the morale in peacetime was also better. You can't improvise heroic resistance overnight; indeed, you can't improvise heroic resistance at all. There is no doubt that the spirit of the Russians in peacetime was a great deal better than ours is at the present moment.

This comparison is even less to our credit than it would seem, because the United States is already in the war in all ways but one, and this has been true for many months. The Americans know that Hitler intends to conquer the world. They know that he regards us as his last and most dangerous enemy. They are aware that he will start killing American citizens wholesale, if he can, at the earliest moment he thinks it is safe to do so. They realize—or ought to realize—that our only chance of survival as a free nation lies in devoting the whole of our energies to the fight against Hitler.

Yet 202 members of Congress vote to disband the army; the automobile industry, and many others, try to continue business as usual even though it increases the chance we may some day wake up and find ourselves where Poland is; a large proportion of our young people refuse to get excited about anything except their personal lives, pleading that the reports of national and international affairs in the newspapers are "just a lot of propaganda" and therefore need not be taken seriously. Thousands of individuals crowd into America First meetings (President MacCracken of Vassar spoke at one the other day) to boo the name of President Roosevelt and thereby to cheer, in their hearts, for Hitler and his way of life.

What is wrong with our country? What causes this sickness of the soul so ominously widespread, so dangerously paralleling what happened in France before Hitler pushed on the decaying walls of her mansion and it crumbled to the ground?

There are many answers to that question, answers far too complicated for a brief note like this, but a few I can at least mention. For one thing, it is now clear that the depression seared the hearts of millions of our citizens, including even those who were only children when it began. We doled out with a niggard hand bare sustenance to vast numbers of people; we kept them alive physically but no more. The lesson to be learned is that unless you are willing to give every person in the country a real stake in its future, a decent job and a decent living, you might about as well—from the country's point of view—let them starve.

Second, our worship of the competitive system, of "free private enterprise," is bearing some unexpected fruits. Evidently while we were teaching people that it is all right to destroy your competitor in a business way, millions of them got the idea that the end and aim of civilization is the comfort, the well-being, of the individual at whatever cost to anyone else. It is obvious that we cannot spend all our time weeping over the fate of tragic victims in other parts of the world; we should never get our work done if we did. But it is equally obvious that the callousness being displayed today by millions of Americans is so serious as to constitute a definite deterioration of character.

We have managed to turn out many people so insensitive that suffering means nothing unless it occurs actually under their eyes; so shortsighted that they cannot recognize a coming catastrophe until it is upon them, but continue to prattle in the sunshine like children playing in an open field while a hurricane approaches; so wholly intent on personal satisfactions that they are prepared if necessary to sacrifice a great part of their freedom, their dignity, the ultimate human values of their life, if they can only be permitted to retain for the time being their pretty toys, their automobiles, bridge games, movies, their air-conditioned restaurants and streamlined trains. Not all the people. I hope to heaven, not a majority. But many.

Before we leave the indictment, it is necessary to say a word about the schools. I am well aware that broadly speaking, we get the sort of education that is desired by those who hold power in our civilization. I am not so naïve as to suppose that our schools are really free to function in a vacuum, any more than is the newspaper editor in his office or the minister in his

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pulpit. But beyond all this, education has been derelict in its duty, even in terms of our existing, far from perfect, democratic society.

A few years ago there was a hot dispute in this country over "indoctrination." The question was whether we should bend the twig, by *force majeure*, or show the budding shoot the advantages of various bends and let it choose among them. On the whole, the experts inclined to the second of these directions, though they never did much about it. Our indoctrination for democracy, at least for the past few generations, has been so feeble that it has been practically non-existent. We should have known that the alternative to effective doctrination on our part is anarchy or, worse still, secret indoctrination by the enemies of our way of life.

We thought the advantages of American democracy were so plain that they needed no underlining—equally plain to the child of a $10,000-a-year executive living in Scarsdale, of a non-union worker in a steel mill in Pittsburgh and of a sharecropper in the cotton country. On the contrary, far too many of these young people saw the ugly side of our life and took it for their model—the ruthless competition, the concentration on personal comforts, the indifference to what happens to anybody else as long as you get yours while the getting is good. This picture is too extreme, I know; it overlooks many fine traits shown by many fine Americans, yesterday, today and tomorrow. Yet in its broad outline I think everyone must agree it is so true that we should be profoundly disquieted about it.

And this brings us to the final task. You can't fill a vacuum with nothing; before we can indoctrinate properly, we must ourselves know what the ultimate values are. What are the things for which Americans are ready to die? Unless there are such things, we are doomed and might as well give up soon as late. If there are such things, we had better begin talking about them and talking hard and continuously, in the press, on the radio, in the movies, in the pulpit and most of all in the classroom. The Russians, in spite of everything, have found in their miserable and backward land, so lacking in pink and blue tiled bathrooms, something for which they are willing to fight to the end. It is hard to believe that our people, who have so much more to defend, will not at last be equally vigorous in defending it.

BRUCE BLIVEN

Blackout or Lightup?

IN THE ALL-OUT STRUGGLE being waged in World War II, one very important point has been made clear. The fighting front has been brought by the airplane to every man's doorstep, to his home, his factory, his office. And the home fires of a different sort than in World War I are now kept burning by enemy pilots as they unload tons of bombs on "military objectives" which, upon later examination, are found to include churches, hospitals and tenement houses as well as armament factories, shipyards, etc.

This new type of modern warfare naturally has called for new defensive measures. Among these measures is the popularly known "blackout." This is not, as the name implies, the complete darkening of a city at night, for example, but is merely the regulation of the intensity, location and direction of lights both indoors and out. Streetlighting is accomplished with fixtures that give no more light than a tallow candle and a resultant illumination that is equivalent to that of a clear moonless night, or in other words, starlight. The primary objective of the blackout is to prevent these lights from guiding enemy pilots to important cities and their manufacturing and transportation centers, their water and power supplies, and other targets of military value. If the enemy does locate these areas, the blackout is believed to prevent accurate bombing.

Although the blackout is generally considered by the layman to be an established institution of modern war, has it succeeded in its primary objective? I think not, and for the following reasons as related by Royal Air Force pilots themselves:

The blackout cannot hide the breaking surf on the coastline of the British Isles, for example, and this surf can easily guide enemy airmen. Rivers like the Thames, the Rhine, the Danube, mountains and other natural land-marks are accentuated by the blackout, particularly on moonlight nights.

Enemy pilots easily can pierce the blackout and reveal important targets below merely by dropping parachute flares.

Cities stand out in the blackout because they have a different reflection from that of the surrounding countryside, while moonlight and starlight reflecting from slate roofs and rivers help guide the enemy pilot.

The blackout aids espionage signaling and cannot prevent radio beams from guiding enemy pilots to important cities and known military objectives.

But that is not all. The blackout not only fails in its primary objective; it also creates numerous other problems to solve. These include:

The safeguarding of vehicular and pedestrian traffic, some of which must move in spite of the blackout and enemy air raids.

The blackout imposes a terrific handicap on air-raid precaution and rescue workers, and on fire-fighters.

Darkness increases the terror effect of air raids and strikes at the morale of the people by disrupting their social life.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Transportation and the loading and unloading of freight are slowed; thousands of man-hours are wasted in the process of blacking out.

The eyesight of the people is strained by the totally inadequate lighting, particularly on the streets, and defensive air fighters are hindered because of the necessity of darkening their home bases.

Why, then, haven't the scientists and military experts of Britain and the continent developed another plan of protection?

I sincerely believe, and many others agree, that the blackout of large cities as practiced in Britain and elsewhere is not the answer. A better plan would be the creation of a glaring canopy of light over principal cities to blind enemy pilots, to obscure and hide important targets, and to aid protecting aircraft pilots in shooting down the enemy. This canopy of light could be created by installing on high elevations numerous small, though powerful, searchlights and wide-angle floodlights, with their beams pointed skyward and in a fan shape.

Admittedly the idea is revolutionary. Under the present regulations abroad, anyone suspected of signaling enemy pilots with the aid of upward beams of light would be arrested. Certainly this plan would make a city stand out in the night as a diamond might in a bin of coal, and attract the enemy as a flame does the moth. But remember that the night flyers easily find London or Manchester, Berlin or Hamburg. The blackout does not prevent this.

The curtain of glaring lights would confuse the pilot and, as I have said, would obscure important targets. The lights would blot out telltale landmarks which might be visible in the blackout. Thus the Thames River could be concealed as it flows through London. By a system of code control and with the aid of civilian light wardens, the lights could be turned on in different areas of the city every night. Thus, the pattern of the city would appear ever different to the attacking aircraft pilots. This naturally would aid in confusing them.

Many lights in the fields surrounding the city could serve as decoys to draw fire where the results would be harmless. The Germans already have been reported cutting openings in one of the forests near Berlin, and lining these with faint blue lights to simulate blacked-out streets in the hope of drawing the British fire.

Parts of each city could be blacked out during a raid. An important plant, for example, could be blacked out at all times, with various light patterns on successive nights revolving about it. The enemy in the air would never know if the plant were on the north, south, east or west side of the light pattern. And the numerous glare lights would affect his eyes so adversely that he would not be able to pick out the plant in the darkened fringe. No doubt the reader often has tried to see beyond a glaring headlight. This will give him some idea of what the pilot would have to contend with, multiplied many times.

Night bombing flights are safer for the enemy than daylight flights simply because he cannot be seen at all in many cases, and at other times he may be visible only for short periods of time, as when he is caught in the searchlight beams of the ground defenders, or is outlined briefly against a sky or the ground fires below. Thus, the canopy of light would aid protecting aircraft pilots by forming a light background against which the enemy could be detected. Even though the enemy attempted to hide in prevailing clouds, the light barrage would make the clouds luminous and the silhouette principle would still apply, revealing the bomber either from above or below.

Aircraft pilots engaged in protection usually know, through radio locating systems, when attacking planes are on the way, and can get into the sky before the attack actually begins. This would give them the advantage of knowing the altitude from which they could watch for enemy planes appearing as silhouettes on the light screen below. And the effectiveness of anti-aircraft guns would also be improved.

A newspaper columnist in commenting on the "light-up" scheme said it sounded sensible but it would take too much power and would cost too much. Quite the contrary is true. My rough estimates indicate that seventy-five kilowatts of glare lights will be sufficient for one square mile. An average city of 100,000 people covers about ten square miles and would require 750 kilowatts. Suppose we double this figure to take care of the open fields for decoy purposes and we have a total just about equal to the power used by a major-league baseball park for a night game. Furthermore, only a pattern using less than half of the total glare lights will be burning at one time and then perhaps only during the period of raids. One well placed bomb would probably more than equal in damage the total cost of a "light-up" system for a city of 100,000.

With the aid of the light-up plan people could live, work and play under conditions more comparable to those in peacetime. Undoubtedly they would have to be convinced of its value and of its advantages over the blackout. At present these advantages are admittedly for the most part theoretical.

However, it is encouraging to know that the United States Army, with the assistance of General Electric engineers, recently made a preliminary test of the light-up plan, on a modest scale. The Associated Press reported that in flights over a small area surrounded by incandescent floodlights, not even a long viewing tube could penetrate the glare. Further experiments by these and other qualified sources undoubtedly will be made to determine by experience the other merits of the light-up. And if air raids ever threaten the United States, we may see the plan in operation.

A. F. DICKERSON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Notes

The Strategy of Defense

NOTHING THAT HAS HAPPENED since the Roosevelt-Churchill conference suggests that the two statesmen stuffed their hats with white rabbits. Admirers who expected the meeting to produce some Nazi-destroying magic and critics who looked for some sinister trick will be equally disappointed. The grand strategy of the President and the Prime Minister, in so far as it is understood in Washington, is merely the strategy of determined and coöperative opportunism. The material resources of the United States and of the British Empire will be pooled and then channeled into the trouble spots where they are most needed and will do the most good. Whither the channels lead will depend, as in the past, upon the fortunes of war.

For the time being, the pool will not include American manpower for several reasons: it is not needed as yet; it is not ready; the President is not unmindful of his promise to avoid sending American boys into a foreign war. When a foreign war becomes a defensive war is a nice question in this shrunken world. But it is a question to which the President will not try to give an answer until the answer is so clearly indicated by events that the people of the United States are ready for it. That time may never come; it may come next week or next month. The President stated the whole truth when he said his talks with Churchill neither increased nor decreased this nation's chances of going to war.

What the strategy of opportunistic defense now calls for is aid to Russia. This is so obviously true that even the Wheeler-Johnson school of isolationists admits it. American supplies will be sent to Russia. The decision to send them was announced long before the Roosevelt-Churchill conference. All that was left for discussion in the cabin of the Augusta was how much. The more planes Russia gets, the fewer there will be for the British. The same quantitative determination had to be made in the case of China. Similarly, there was the question whether the British, drawing on American supplies, should try to relieve pressure on Russia by establishing a new front.

Without professing to know what the President and the Prime Minister decided in detail about the disposition of material immediately available, informed persons in the administration now think they know in a general way what to expect. They anticipate an attempt to bolster Russia with certain desperately needed implements from the United States and this at once. These will be shipped from the West Coast to Vladivostok for transport by the long land route to the fighting front or plants supplying the front. The shipments will necessarily go through Japanese territorial waters.

The Japanese may and may not permit them to go through unmolested. If merchantmen carrying American supplies to Russia are sunk by the Japanese, we shall be closer to war in the Pacific than we are or have been in the Atlantic. Even now, if administration analysts of public opinion are right, the President could order the United States Navy to take supplies through to Russia, shooting if necessary, with complete confidence of popular approval. This assurance is based on the belief that the so-called yellow peril is more real to Americans than the Nazi peril, patently fallacious as such a concept would be. It is based also on the thinking that assigns the Atlantic to the British Navy and the Pacific to the United States Navy as a natural division of responsibility. Granting that there is intense dislike of communism in this country and indifference to the fate of strange Slavic peoples, the heroic resistance of the Russians, standing between the Nazis and the narrow neck of water separating the U.S.S.R. from Alaska, has made the new Asiatic war more understandable in terms of American defense than the European war.

America will have an important part to play on the new war front that is being created in Iran. Our share in the venture will be to fly fighting planes across the South Atlantic and Africa to the Middle East command. The American public would not, in all probability, get excited about the loss of some of these planes enroute. West Africa still seems too far off to be a defensive outpost. Even if Vichy hands over its African empire, including Dakar, the isolationists will continue to find takers for their none-of-our-business line of goods.

All this speculation as to what will happen next and what the public reaction to probable events will be may become stuffing for a cocked hat when tomorrow's headlines appear. Japanese moderates may gain influence; an American patrol ship may be torpedoed off Greenland; Russian resistance may collapse. None of these events is probable but none is impossible. The point is that Roosevelt and Churchill have no step-by-step plan for licking Hitler. The success or failure of each move will determine the nature of the next. How far and how fast the President can go will continue to depend upon the vagaries of democratic opinion. Material support for Russia and for a British thrust in the Middle East seem to be the next experimental products of the Anglo-American collaboration, a pre-Augusta collaboration which now has been personally discussed by the leaders primarily responsible for its planning and execution.

Administration leaders are again worried about Catholic disaffection. Several votes against the draft extension in the House seemed to draw their inspiration from Catholic constituencies. The President tried to stop the drift by appending freedom of religion to the eight points in his message to Congress. Isolationists are making the most of the Church's distaste for the Soviets. Senators Clark and Johnson both bore down on the Godless-Russia note in their public comments on the message. . . . Chief of Staff Marshall is personally studying reports from civilians on low army morale and their suggestions for dealing with it. . . . Mayor La Guardia's friends are urging him to quit his Civilian Defense job and devote himself wholly to running for reëlection. . . . CIO appeals to the White House for reappointment of Edwin Smith to the NLRB will be turned down flat. . . . Likewise the Communists' appeal for the release of Earl Browder so that, as The Daily Worker explains, the country's outstanding anti-fascist fighter can lead the fight against Hitlerism.

Washington T. R. B.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Man in the Movies

IF YOU WILL hold onto your hats going around this corner I will say that Sam Goldwyn's screen version of "The Little Foxes" is one of the really beautiful jobs in the whole range of movie-making, and that includes any time or place or name. And speaking of names, we might try to remember sometimes that for every fifty bonehead jokes ascribed to Goldwyn, there is a Goldwyn picture. And the picture is not his first, or his fifteenth either, and you will club your wits a good bit before you will turn up a producer, any time or place, with such a steady record of fine jobs behind him.

It was William Wyler who actually made the picture, of course; Wyler as director of the people and the material before him, especially the very good material provided by the script-makers: Dorothy Parker, Alan Campbell and Arthur Kober working on Lillian Hellman's screenplay of her original. William Wyler as assisted by the finest technicians anywhere in the art of set building, by the camera work of Gregg Toland, who is back again from Orson Welles to the true art of picture-making, at which he is one of the first men. But above all, as it must be in films, William Wyler. There are director-proof scripts written and there are director-proof actors; but these show their heads only in the full of the blue moon and they do not result in a picture like "The Little Foxes." When he is good, as he should be, and given the chance, as he should be, the director is the man in the movies; and William Wyler—brought here by Jesse Lasky as an outlander kid, going to the Coast as general chore boy, working up as an assistant on the old Westerns—is one of the men, his name a better guarantee than all the titles and the stars.

If it can be put briefly at all: the story is the same, but the possible implications of a speech downstage, center, have been made probable in the life of a community as we see it; they have been prepared for earlier, and are followed through; their meaning has become a part of our unconscious acceptance. It is true that afterthought still raises its puzzles: everything seems to come even but what is the end in fate of Birdie, once her dramatic purpose has been served? Is this nest of evil to be taken as a thing pointing backward toward a superior past, ahead to heavier darkness, to some state of grace? At one time or another, as it serves the purpose of story, each of these still seems to be alternately inevitable or impossible; and in terms of dramatic truth, it is still a case of the Furies themselves in a dogfight, ending with a bitter truce and no hope for the race.

But afterthought is never the dramatic experience, and that experience is one of clear and mounting power. There is the atmosphere of pleasant rooms and sunlight, and a sort of graciousness in the externals of living as sweet and recurrent as an old tune. And in the middle of it, the acid and metal, the terrible pattern, the banking and bonding and percenting knavery of hearts hard enough to hold money and make it work, so that the only horror is in setting dollar against dollar—call it the ethics of business, in a distillation of the very worst. You know the story or you don't need to know it until you see it. The point is in its translation from concepts into picture, into developing every possibility so that this thing may be seen, the good and weak holding out against the wicked in their strength.

It is done through the characters of Bette Davis, Herbert Marshall, Teresa Wright and Richard Carlson, with Patricia Collinge, Charles Dingle, Carlton Reid, Dan Duryea and John Marriott from the Broadway cast. It is in fact done with everybody who appears in it, for I do not remember a bad performance, or anything that seemed like a performance as spoken with emphasis; and the written-in parts for the Negroes of the town were in that rare balance of the humor and dignity which so many pictures and plays (including the Broadway original) try for without achieving more than a Tom-show. Bette Davis is probably in the best role of her life here, and seems born to it. The tricks with the hands and the hyperthyroid are not necessary, and she discards them. She is there as a central figure, she maintains that perfect truth which makes the figure perfectly terrible; she is working along her own special line but that line becomes the picture for its duration and if any actress has done better you will have to read about it in memoirs.

Herbert Marshall hereby cancels out any part he has ever played: as the acute cardiac and man of gentleness he is actually grand, and I do not believe there is a dry eye in the audience to see him go. I do not believe either that we have seen so sensitive and wise a young girl as Teresa Wright for a long time, and in the picture version her youth and wonder become important for more reasons than that of providing a play without an ending with an ending. She is sweet and bewildered and she has the instinct for the actor's belief, so that even then, even so young and foolish, she moves with the unaffected serenity of that many years. The two brothers and the nephew are as they should be, solid pieces well joined in the structure—always with special credit to Dan Duryea, who makes an arrogance of sniveling, with both praise and a question mark for Patricia Collinge, whose Birdie is wonderful in some scenes and in others seems overwritten, too fluttery, too emphatic for the simple goodness that is supposed to be in her.

But we come back to the director again. By his patience, by his sort of omniscience in the matter of what detail will blend with the over-all effect still in his mind, by the confidence he inspires even—by the knowledge on the part of an actor that this is a man who will not only tolerate but encourage good work—he has used these people to the ends of his picture. He needs them; he is lost without them. But they are lost without him, and if he is not a really high man at his work, with all its implications of patience and guidance and general finish, they may show but not to the best advantage. Just take one scene, a minor thing too. Herbert Marshall has come out to lean his weak fury against the banister, Bette Davis has come home from the battle-line, entering from the door across the space below, preoccupied and busy with gloves and stuff, to take five steps, six, seven (we know he is there, we are waiting) and another step and, *stop*. The dramatic part of the scene lifts up like a full chord in the orchestra, and we think, it is this woman who has looked up with her hard nervous eyes to find this object of hate. But it is actually the man who devised this much, to put her in the center of the screen, to warn us in advance, to give us that sense of an even count up to the point of collision, and then, seven, eight, collision. And that man is the director; it is in a picture like this that you can see him at work.

OTIS FERGUSON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Bandwagon

Now and then somebody asks why we publish the editorials of The New York Daily News in this column. Answer:

Because they are always interesting, well written and express a thought with which we agree. The owner and publisher of The Washington Times-Herald is also a part owner of The News. – *From The Washington Times-Herald.*

The Calvinistic dogma of essential human depravity pumped into the American Constitution by Puritan delegates is radically incompatible with democracy. – *From a speech at the Boston College Summer School of Catholic Action, reported by The Boston Globe.*

Though he's still in his twenties [Robert] Capa is already famous for his pictures of the Spanish war and his action shots of Japan's heroic four-year struggle for peace in China. – *From The Saturday Evening Post.*

Tea rooms today were ordered to remove sandwiches and other tidbits from their display windows. Police explained such displays make people hungry. – *AP dispatch from Vichy in The New York Post.*

For Sale—Six-year-old baby crib, baby scale, auto seat, high chair, one tricycle, one girl's beginner two-wheeler bike, one baby. – *Advertisement in The Barrington (Ill.) Community Courier.*

This issue marks the eighth anniversary of the Long Island Independent. For eight years we have been trying to give the city of Long Beach a decent, truthful newspaper. We sometimes wonder if anyone gives a damn. – *Editorial in The Long Island Independent.*

The way Tommy Manville looks at it, since he is "practically engaged" to pretty Beverly Paterno, what in the world is wrong with him giving her $500 toward a new car, a $150 traveling bag, and other bare necessities of life? . . .

"The reason I say 'practically engaged,'" adds Tommy, "is that Bev is still married." – *From The New York Post.*

"It was like hell." The Casablanca situation was thus described by Princess Nancy Dudarew-Ossetynski.

"I had to peel potatoes and mop floors; and the prince had to work with others in cleaning up the camp," she said. – *AP dispatch from New York in The Atlanta Journal.*

Don't Tell Me; Let Me Guess

It is a great pleasure to us to welcome you into the large and rapidly growing group of 1941 Plymouth owners. . . . No doubt, you are enthusiastic about your new car. But, often in discussing a subject with our friends, the reasons back of our enthusiasm do not always come quickly to mind. The enclosed booklet . . . will give you some easily remembered reasons why you have a right to be proud of your new car. – *Form letter sent to new Plymouth owners some weeks after delivery.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

On Declaring War

A short time ago, and before the publication of our editorial last week recommending an immediate declaration of war, we wrote to all contributors whose names have appeared in our pages since last January 1, asking their views on this subject. We publish below in whole or in part, the first instalment of their replies, in alphabetical order. We have excluded those persons known to us to be non-citizens.– THE EDITORS

SIR: Looking at it objectively, I think we should declare war and throw our fleet and air force in immediately. I think the demands of morality, our policy up to now, and the world situation realistically examined, leave no other course. Looking at it subjectively, I think our entering the war at any time would be futile, because I am a conscientious objector and believe that war gains nothing which could not be gained more effectively without it. If we were actually fighting in defense, this attitude of mine might disintegrate under emotional stress, but at present I hold it as an ideal worth the adherence of those who have the guts to do so.

North Guilford, Conn. GEORGE ABBE

SIR: That this is America's war as much as England's, or Belgium's, or that of any other of the democracies, I take for granted. I take for granted too that America, morally speaking, is herself already at war with the Axis powers, and rightly so; for to submit to Nazi Germany would be to give up everything we live for and by. As for the formal step of declaring war, I have believed for a year that this would be our best possible course of action. The news could not be kept from the German people, and it would be recognized by them for what it is: whether at the end of a long or a short war, the absolute certainty of defeat. And in my opinion, this might even bring about a much shorter war, and with a likelihood of less sacrifice on our own part, than if we defer our decision, only perhaps to enter when it may be too late.

Brewster, Mass. CONRAD AIKEN

SIR: The time may soon come, and it is worth waiting for, when the evidence of American strength and the evidence of its determination to place it in the service of those peoples fighting Hitlerism, may of itself affect the outcome of this war without our actual fighting entrance into it. Meantime we can make ready to return blow for blow, if an assault is made on us.

New York City JULIUS H. BARNES

SIR: Declaration of war should be a last resort, kept in reserve with full knowledge that war in itself never decides crucial issues. If winning the post-war peace is recognized as fundamental, why not winning the pre-war "peace?" In both, agreements are entered into, bargains struck, and if there is wisdom embodied in these and the subscribing parties are of good faith, constructive work is accomplished. Those who have democratic values most at heart will not, I believe, campaign for or against immediate declaration of war. They will work that those who have access to the fullest and least public knowledge may be free to fight well to win a pre-war peace in full knowledge that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they may at some moment have to fight a war as well. But, pre-war peace or a shooting war, the objective is the same: the permanent victory of democratic ways of life.
Norwich, N. Y. RUTH BENEDICT

SIR: If we were to declare war now, unprepared as we are, we should add only another chapter to the ineptitudes of the democracies. Yet even if we were prepared for what promises to be the world's most titanic struggle, I should, if I were a member of Congress vote against our military participation. Granted our non-belligerency would be cowardly, if we actually had as much at stake in this war as has England. But every realist knows that our peril is less than England's. Since we must be not only the arsenal but the underwriters for the democracies, our national debt—should we enter the war and assume responsibility for its prolongation into infinity—would reach astronomical figures. We should be ruined financially and we should see an American Hitler arise to win over the miserable masses with lies and loathsome preaching of race hatred. So I fail to see how we can avoid Hitlerism in this country by committing economic suicide on a grandiose scale.

American democracy will be saved, if it is to be saved, in our factories, in our schools, in the land of the sharecroppers, in the South where the Negroes have not yet their rights. It cannot be saved at Dakar, on the Rhine, at Vladivostok, or in the East Indies.
New York City DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY

SIR: I am for an immediate declaration of war.
Westport, Conn. VAN WYCK BROOKS

SIR: I am for a declaration of war, if it can be accompanied by a declaration of aims which are to the best interests of American democracy and permanent peace.
Cap a l'Aigle, Quebec J. F. BROWN

SIR: I think we should declare war when we are able to present a concrete post-war program that will guarantee everyone in the United States a decent living. The sooner this is done the better.
Washington, D. C. PHILIP S. BROWN

SIR: American public opinion will support bold, decisive, essentially belligerent moves to check Hitler. It is not ready for a formal declaration of war. Therefore, more positive aid to Britain, to China and the Soviet Union. Be realistic—and be quick—about including Russia. Exported guns and planes, fired and flown immediately, may help to stop the Axis onslaught before it reaches our shores.
New York City T. R. CARSKADON

SIR: I am against an immediate declaration of war against Germany. It would serve to encourage those who are trying to make the German people believe that they are being victimized by the democracies. What is more important, it would probably prevent our giving the aid to Great Britain and China that now, as non-belligerent sympathizers with the democratic forces in those countries, we can and should give. I am against undeclared wars, but certainly our attitude has been made sufficiently clear to the German government. If it chooses to find grounds for declaring war against us, we shall be in a better position to rally American opinion against the Nazis than if the initiative came from us, and we shall also be more likely to strengthen the necessary fight for democracy on the home front.
New York City BABETTE DEUTSCH

SIR: Although I am completely opposed to any thought of American soldiers invading the European continent and trying to beat Hitler there, I believe that immediately without a declaration of war we should occupy the Azores, the Cape Verde islands, Dakar and any other necessary outposts to our security in either the Pacific or Atlantic. At the same time and before our open declaration of war, we should come to a definite agreement with England and Russia on the kind of an improved world we can offer to mankind after the defeat of the Axis powers.
South Yarmouth, Mass. ENOCH H. DOBLE

SIR: I think the United States, recognizing new international processes, should prepare immediately a comprehensive manifesto. The document should consist of:

(1) A candid blanket confession of the less spectacular but quite effective style of fascism the United States has practised from the time it "absorbed" what it possesses from the aborigines to the time, a few weeks ago, it fired thousands of old women whose whole skill was to make cotton pillows and rag rugs from the WPA, on the idiotic theory that defense activities would employ them;

(2) A citation of the incalculably greater evils of axisism;

(3) An irrevocable pledge to work with Great Britain and with all other conforming nations toward (a) defeat of axisism, (b) establishment of world democracy in the true sense of the term, a way of life hitherto trumpeted but untried;

(4) A tentative declaration of war against all nations that have acted or will act in a manner inimical to the purposes manifested, the war to become effective at any time the United States may consider it prudent to take action;

(5) A warning to all axis powers and to their willingly co-öperating vassals against specific further acts opposed to democratic interests; that is, such acts as seem most probable.

I submit that such an instrument would be both moral and practical, and that it would not only clarify our war aims; it would leave no question as to our peace aims.
Augusta, Georgia LE GARDE S. DOUGHTY

SIR: It is my opinion that the moral gain which would result from an immediate declaration of war on Germany by the United States would be more than offset by the strategic loss. The heartening of those now in the field and the concentration of *all* our strength on war production would, indeed, be advantages; but the tendency most likely would be to equip our army for some future engagement rather than sending what we have *now* where it may do ten times the good.

And the possibility of internal rifts and dissension is very grave. The American people, particularly those who live in the Middle West, are *not aware* of their danger and would regard a declaration of war at this time as an act of imperialistic aggression. Before a declaration of war can achieve what is desired and not produce only dangerous disunity, the people, or at least many more of them, must be awakened from their apathy. Shelley's indictment of the modern world, spoken over a hundred years ago, is still the most trenchant comment on it that I know: We lack the power to imagine what we know.
Evanston, Illinois BERGEN EVANS

SIR: I believe the United States cannot morally, economically or politically dissociate itself from the rest of the world; that it has not in fact done so; and that it has never been President Roosevelt's intention to do so. I am therefore convinced that sooner or later the United States will be compelled to take a direct part in the military conflict whose outcome will determine the future of the world.

I think most Americans now feel this way, and that they will

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wholeheartedly support all the aid our government will give to those countries which are already at war against the Nazis. I think, too, that when the moment comes they will wholeheartedly support America's entrance into the war.

Whether that moment has arrived now is a technical question which only military experts can decide. Our democratic system, however, fortunately obliges the President to take into account the popular state of mind before committing the country to war. It therefore devolves upon the American people to make it clear that they favor this step now.

However, American participation in the war must be not merely against something but *for* something. The peoples fighting Hitler must be guaranteed a fundamental, permanent and truly democratic solution of the social problems which have been agitating the modern world for a century.

New York City JOSEPH FREEMAN

SIR: Whatever may come later, the time does not seem ripe today for a declaration of war by the United States. Repeated polls have shown that the American people, while supporting defense measures and material aid to democracies overseas, do not want to see this nation involved as an active belligerent if this can be avoided. In a democracy, the will of the majority must prevail. Moreover, it appears likely that our aid to Britain, China and Russia can be carried to a higher peak by continuation of our present status than by a declaration of war now.

Dallas, Texas WAYNE GARD

SIR: It is due and proper in a republic like ours that a resolution be introduced in Congress, fully debated and disposed of, saying: "It is the national policy to assist Britain, China and Russia in the defensive wars which they are waging; and all action of the Executive taken in pursuance of that policy is hereby approved."

If such a resolution passes—which is likely—we shall begin to realize that the next step will be a state of war; but more of us will have a clear idea of what it is all about. Any suspicion that the country is being tricked, pushed or eased into war will have little left to feed on.

Provincetown, Mass. CHAUNCEY HACKETT

SIR: Now, while Hitler is engaged in Russia, seems to me the opportune moment for the United States to declare war on the Axis immediately. That we are not fully prepared is no argument against our going to war, since we shall never be fully prepared, either materially or morally, unless this country is put on a complete war footing. Our active participation would eliminate compromises with Japan, Franco and Vichy, of which we have been sadly guilty in the past. It would encourage British, Russian and Chinese resistance and strengthen the morale of anti-fascists all over Europe, including Germany.

New York City MARIANNE HAUSER

SIR: I favor an immediate declaration of war against the Axis, but without too much interest in what I regard as a purely tactical question. The larger question of what are we going to *do*, which you fail to ask, is the one I think requires an answer. Whether we declare war on the Axis or not, I think we should prosecute the war on Hitler with all possible fervor, including the immediate creation of a second front in Europe and the rapid crushing in that gigantic pincers of the old pincers-master himself. If, in the opinion of competent military authority, which I am not, that requires an American declaration of war and an American expeditionary force, by all means let us have it. I say that as one who can hardly be accused of wanting to plunge our young American manhood into the bloody shambles, since I am well within the draft age and in embarrassing good health.

New York City STANLEY EDGAR HYMAN

SIR: I think that in order to preserve our national safety, integrity and prestige we ought to declare war—assuming that our defensive and offensive resources are now adequate—at the earliest, most effective psychological moment. President Roosevelt has displayed an unerring instinct for divining such moments; I believe he will not miss out on this one.

New York City DOROTHY MCCLEARY

SIR: The United States ought to declare war immediately on Germany. The advantages to us of such a move outweigh, I believe, the disadvantages. The vast majority of Americans has supported the administration thus far in its steps against the aggressor nations, although millions in this same group appear reluctant to take the final plunge. A forthright declaration of war by Congress would exorcise once and for all, I think, this spirit of anachronistic pacifism.

Notre Dame, Ind. FRANCIS E. MCMAHON

SIR: It is my belief that the United States should not at this time make a declaration of war against the Axis powers. I believe that Carl Sandburg is right when he points out that in the present "war of nerves" the President's tactics are well calculated to drive the Nazis crazy. The uncertainty of our policy is more exasperating to them than a forthright declaration of war. After the dramatic meeting with Churchill, the President returns and the headline reads: 'U. S. no nearer war, President declares" (August 17, 1941). This sort of thing is maddening to the Nazis: a bold diplomatic move, aggressive in tone, followed by a baffling non-committal interview. As usual the President is leading the country along and, at the same time, sparring with the domestic political opposition. This seems to be the best strategy at the moment. May I add, however, with respect to Japan, that I strongly favor a hard-boiled aggressive policy—an absolute embargo, enforced if necessary by blockade.

Los Angeles, Calif. CAREY MCWILLIAMS

From The New Republic Mail Bag

President Thurston J. Davies of Colorado College, Colorado Springs, has sent us the interesting program of the Fine Arts Conference sponsored last month. The group of 425 musicians, artists, writers and art administrators concluded that the center of culture in America is shifting under the war impact, that an intensification of the creative arts under the national-defense effort will help stabilize emotions during the crisis, and enable us to accept the leadership in recreating world arts after the war. . . . The International Student Service announces a three-day conclave to be held in International House, New York City, in mid-September. Considering "The Colleges in the Crisis," 200 student leaders will discuss their role in the defense program during the school year 1941-42.

John D. Williams of Glastonbury, Connecticut, approved our stand on "State Department Appeasers" (The New Republic, July 28), but thinks that if public concern were centered on the menace of Nazi Germany, criticism of the State Department would become secondary. . . . Private D. A. G., writing from Fort Adams, Rhode Island, disagrees. He believes many former students, like himself, interested in entering the foreign service, were discouraged by State Department policies and personnel. "Why can't we have a New Deal State Department in the near future?" he asks. "A lot of prospective candidates would love to see one!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books in Review

Ancestors

IN HIS LATEST BOOK,[1] John Dos Passos reveals a new attitude toward his own country. He formerly seemed to believe that everything good in it was doomed—everything free and generous, everything that obstructed the progress of monopoly capitalism. His three-volume novel, "U.S.A.," was in substance and feeling one of the saddest books of our time. Among the scores of characters, drawn from every social level and almost every geographical section, the one happy man was a peddler of patent medicines who believed in his own lies. The other figures in the novel were either broken by life or else, if they succeeded financially, they lost whatever souls they had, turning into the dry husks of people; there were very few with whom we could even sympathize in their defeat. The author himself seemed to have a mixed attitude toward them. In one sense, he was writing as an old-fashioned American who was morally outraged because the country was turning away from the principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence; in another, he was writing as a Marxian determinist, convinced that our culture was only a mask for the realities of monopoly capitalism. But he was led by both these feelings to the same desperate conclusion: that no matter what aims people had when they started out, and no matter how much they struggled —the fact was that most of his characters struggled not at all—they were swept along by the current of economic life and were finally drowned in it.

The shorter novel he published in 1939, "Adventures of a Young Man," was a further stage in his disillusionment. Having described the vassals and overlords of capitalism, he now turned his attention to the rebels against it, the Communists, and decided that they were either dupes or heartless bureaucrats; there was nothing to expect from them but disaster. In the past there have been several good novels with a similar theme; there was even a great novel, "The Possessed"; but this book by Dos Passos left one with a sense of failure. It was too close to its subject, too narrow in its interests; and there was rancor in it, as if the author were trying to destroy something in himself. Worse than that, it ended in a blind alley. After the hero had lost his illusions one by one, and had been killed fighting for a cause in which he no longer believed, there was nothing more to say. The author's career had apparently come to a full stop.

"The Ground We Stand On" announces a new direction. It deals with the present and future of this country in terms of its past, being history instead of fiction. It is interested in patterns of behavior rather than social theories, and in the art of politics—"the art of inducing people to behave in groups with a minimum of force and bloodshed"—rather than the science of economics. It lays emphasis on something Dos Passos never mentioned before: the will to survive. And considering what he used to say, it reaches surprisingly optimistic conclusions. ". . . most everybody in the world today believes in his heart that life is more worth living for the average man in North America than anywhere else. . . . I myself believe . . . that this country is getting to be a better place for men to live in instead of a worse. . . . When we wake up in the night cold and sweating with nightmare fear for the future of our country, we can settle back with the reassuring thought that the Englishspeaking people have these habits ingrained in them." The habits to which Dos Passos refers are those of fairness and compromise, the habits that make self-government work. And the purpose of his book is to search for their origins in American history.

His search leads him to what he believes are the two great early-American figures: Roger Williams, with his passion for freedom of conscience, and Thomas Jefferson, with his sense of human dignity. Williams and his relations with the Puritan revolution are treated in the longest section of the book. Jefferson, being a more familiar figure, receives only a short chapter; but Joel Barlow shared his opinions and acts here as his surrogate; the section dealing with him is almost as long as that on Roger Williams. Shorter chapters are devoted to Ben Franklin in London, to Samuel Adams and his Liberty Boys, and to Hamilton's part in suppressing the Whiskey Rebellion. Considering his prejudice against popular government, Hamilton comes off surprisingly well. Dos Passos says at the end that he showed "the minimum of personal restraint needed to keep the fabric of a selfgoverning society unbroken. . . . Today our lives depend on it. If we can keep the fabric of a self-governing republic unbroken at home, we are in no danger from the attacks of the slave states of Europe and Asia."

This is not one of Dos Passos' best books; it does not rank with "U.S.A." or "Manhattan Transfer" or even "In All Countries." The author's training is that of a novelist, a reporter and a poet, rather than that of a historian. He chooses the interesting character, the fresh and significant detail, instead of trying to paint a historian's complete picture. His scholarship is intensive rather than extensive, so that he does a better job with Joel Barlow, the third-rate poet who was Madison's ambassador to Napoleon, than he does with the English Civil War. But in spite of these faults, the book succeeds in its aim of casting a new light on the present. And it gives one the feeling that Dos Passos, after some sort of moral crisis, is perhaps beginning a new career.

"Reveille in Washington"[2] is another book that pictures the past in order to explain the present. The period with which it deals is the Civil War; the subject is the city of Washington, with its streets, salons, saloons, government

[1] The Ground We Stand On: Some Examples from the History of a Political Creed, by John Dos Passos. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 420 pages. $3.50.

[2] Reveille in Washington, 1860-1865, by Margaret Leech. New York: Harper and Brothers. 493 pages, illustrated. $3.50.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

offices, prisons, hospitals and fancy houses. Unlike Dos Passos, the author is not concerned with the history of ideas: what Margaret Leech has done is patiently to gather facts, thousands of them—facts about people, places and events; entertaining, significant or merely curious facts. Usually I have a hard time reading a book like this, in which the author has spent more time on research than on reflection; but this time a pattern does emerge from all the separate items classified in chapters that are like the drawers in a filing cabinet. The pattern is the slow crystalization, among quarrels, treachery and monumental blunders, of a united determination to hold the nation together—till finally the war is won and crowds gather on Pennsylvania Avenue to watch the last parade of what has become the strongest army in the world. The lesson for the present seems to be that this is how democracy always fights and usually wins; it is a lesson of encouragement in the midst of our present indecision. Yet to me the book was scarcely reassuring. The war of 1861 was waged by the North against another self-governing republic with the same problems, the same divided counsels and with less than half the Northern resources. It would be hard to resist and impossible to defeat a totalitarian Europe by the same policy of muddle.

MALCOLM COWLEY

South of the Border

Many Mexicos, by Lesley Byrd Simpson. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 336 pages. $3.
Reportage on Mexico, by Virginia Prewett. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 322 pages. $3.

LESLEY BYRD SIMPSON brings to his study of "Many Mexicos" a historian's abilities, sympathetic understanding of old Spain, skill in extracting underlying trends from the chaos of surface events, and a readable, even flavorsome literary style. He had intended to write a history, but twelve years of research convinced him that he would be buried under an avalanche of his own index cards if he didn't stop there and begin to write. What the consequent work may have lost in balance and completeness, it makes up in the opportunity it afforded him to concentrate on the aspects he knew best and found most attractive. Hence the colonial period is full and fascinating, while the book becomes thinner and sketchier—but by no means dull reading—as it approaches modern times.

Against the facile and fashionable theory that the whole of Mexican history can be resumed in an initial "foreign conquest" and a prolonged struggle for "Indian reconquest," he brings forth a convincing analysis of the constructive aspects of colonial administration and the permanent Spanish elements in Mexican life. And by way of refutation of the theory which blames all Mexico's ills on the Spaniard, he analyzes those problems of Mexican life which have been continuous throughout her history, from the pre-conquest to the present. Chief of these he finds to be the actual physical lack of arable land and food. This it was that rendered ancient Mexico scarcely capable of feeding itself and supporting the tiny theocratic bureaucracy of the Aztec state. The *conquistadores* complicated the problem by expecting to live without work and by diverting more labor to the extraction of metals. Independence, far from improving matters, added the unproductive burden of almost continual struggles for power and predatory armies living off the civilian population. And the revolution of the last two decades created a new layer of rapacious generals and venal officials on the make (the newly rich "Men of the Revolution"), enlarging the standing army so that it now absorbs fully one-quarter of the government's income. The author sees little hope of immediate improvement because of an unwholesome governmental tradition, an illiterate folk with a local rather than a national outlook, and a rutted and mountainous terrain that makes irrigation, soil building and road construction costly beyond their anticipated yield. He frankly sees no solution to these problems beyond the vague program of "the *ejido* and the schoolhouse" (land distribution and popular education), and his book ends with the ominous words: *Mother Mexico is not feeding her children.*

Virginia Prewett in her "Reportage on Mexico" reverses the procedure employed by Dr. Simpson. Her aim is to report Mexico's present, but she feels that, for the sake of completeness and understanding, she must first sum up Mexico's past. She opens with an interpretive chapter that is a first-rate job of popularization of Mexico's basic problems, and follows with a dull, weak, crowded, occasionally erroneous condensation of the four centuries of Mexico's past into some thirty-odd pages. It is to be hoped that this will not deter the reader from continuing the book, for once the chronicle chapter is out of the way, the author hits her stride. As investigator and reporter of what went on under her eyes, Miss Prewett is enterprising, inquisitive and clear headed, and writes so well that it is a pity not to have some more evocative word than the modest term "reportage" which she employs as title. The chapters on the oil conflict, the Cardenas regime, the nature of the "right turn" that marked his closing year and the first of his successor, the recent presidential contest, the assassination of Leon Trotsky—these represent some of the best reporting that has come out of Mexico in many years. In the oil controversy she lets each side (there are more than two) tell its own story. During the election campaign she looks, listens, questions, and checks everything she can. She is not taken in, as so many have been, by resonant phrases and by the lyrical element in Latin American politics. Her chapter on the Trotsky murder derives from an account of his attorney, Albert Goldman, and an interview with his widow, Natalia Ivanovna. To those not familiar with the details, it makes grim and enlightening reading.

Only her final chapter on the problems of Mexico's defense and its relations with Germany and Japan shows any weaknesses in reporting. Here she includes matter which she has not fully thought through or gotten around to checking herself. Side by side with shrewd observations on the Japanese fleet's not being able to reach Mexico's shores unless our Pacific fleet is destroyed, "in which case there would be no point in attacking through Mexico," she relates wild fantasies—a little diffidently to be sure—about German sleight-of-hand artists touring Mexico with a "disintegrator gun" and Japanese crews who drown one of their own number in order that trained divers may jump overboard and take soundings in the search for a corpse they never find. But such fantasies make up no more than a minor part of one of the less effective chapters in the first-rate "Reportage on Mexico."

BERTRAM D. WOLFE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The First Year and the Next

Business as Usual, by I. F. Stone. New York: Modern Age Books. 288 pages. $2.

FOR THE PAST YEAR, I. F. Stone has been the Washington correspondent of The Nation. In "Business as Usual, The First Year of Defense," he has reëxamined a number of the issues on which he has already written, and added entirely new chapters to provide an admirable analysis of the progress of the defense program. Stone's book, like his articles, gains its forcefulness through its understatement and absence of rhetoric; he states the facts, gives a twist of mild irony to them, and leaves it to the reader to grow angry.

After a moving foreword in the form of an allegory taken from the Japanese invasion of South Shantung, Stone begins with an examination of the defense program one year after its inception. He analyzes briefly the progress of the shipbuilding, strategic-materials and aircraft programs; he demolishes at each point the claims of the OPM report "One Year of Defense." If his argument tends to place the blame on the OPM press section rather than on its most important officials, still the failure of OPM is only too clear.

Stone then develops his main argument, which is against the monopoly control of the defense industries and monopoly representation in defense agencies. This he does by a very full account of the role of Alcoa in the aluminum shortage. He concludes with the blunt statement that "an economy dominated by monopolies cannot produce enough to defeat an economy which subordinates all else to maximum production, whether it does so by dictatorial or democratic means."

"But the shackles of monopoly on productive forces," Stone adds, "will never be broken as long as the servants of monopoly are in control of the defense program." The predominance of these interests in OPM is then described in the third section of the book. Stone places upon certain dollar-a-year men a major responsibility for the shortages in defense materials, and a minor one in undermining the President's attempt to secure a genuine excess-profits tax. He asserts, however, that industry was directly responsible for the defeat of the administration's tax proposals. "In the great capital sitdown strike of 1940 which delayed the signature of defense industries, the aviation industry was used as a front for the rest of business in its fight for special tax privileges on defense contracts." Here Stone is perhaps too hard on the aircraft industry which was anxious to get contracts signed, and too generous toward the men in OPM and around Under-secretary Patterson in the War Department, men who delayed the signing of contracts because they were more ardently in favor of war profits for the aircraft companies than were the companies themselves. But Stone's subsequent exposure of the complicity between American aircraft firms and the Nazis is in itself as complete a condemnation of the industry as could be given.

By far the best chapters in "Business as Usual" are those dealing with the automobile and machine-tool industries, the Reuther Plan and the Beaver County coöperative enterprise. In all of these Stone has contributed original research which has been of direct value in the defense program. In each case, his conclusions are the same; they are summed up in a long and admirable essay in a final chapter which closely resembles the arguments of Francis Williams' "War by Revolution" and other recent books by English writers. Stone argues that now, as in the War of Independence, the release of great resources of moral initiative and practical ability is essential for our survival; these resources he insists can only be found among small business and labor groups whose interests, unlike those of the great industrialists, have usually coincided with the general welfare. He makes no detailed recommendations beyond the infusion of these resources into the defense program and is not too hopeful about the future.

In his own buoyant way, Stone presents a disheartening picture. Only in regard to aluminum does he become cheerful, prophesying a happy ending to the present shortage, and praising the work of Jesse Jones. It is precisely here, unfortunately, that he is wrong. The aluminum picture was never more discouraging, and at the moment Jesse Jones is far more of a culprit than the chastened OPM.

It is difficult for a reporter in Washington to tell the whole story of defense now; the part which can be uncovered is usually the least damaging. Recently a conservative official of OPM telephoned a reporter: "Your stories are good," he said, "but far too weak; I know it from my own experience but I can't tell you why." This is true also of Stone's excellent book. It is as strong a condemnation of business-as-usual as Stone can write; it remains an understatement.

MICHAEL STRAIGHT

Leave Marriage out of This

Marriage Is a Private Affair, by Judith Kelly. New York: Harper and Brothers. 359 pages. $2.50.

"MARRIAGE IS A PRIVATE AFFAIR" is the new Harper Prize Novel and carries on its jacket the endorsements of Clifton Fadiman and Josephine W. Johnson, who are appropriately Harper Prize judges ("precise," "searching," "distinguished," "warm," "absorbing," and so on). Frankly, I think someone has sold them a dead pigeon. The story was serialized in The Ladies' Home Journal, and while this is nothing against a book, it is a sort of guarantee that as a study of marriage it will probe the matter right down to the surface. It includes many things that can happen: jealousy, estrangement, infidelity, the growth of companionship or hate, justifiable abortion, in-law trouble, the use of fortified beverages, the intervention of such questions as career, civic usefulness, politics (communism is faced calmly). These matters all come up in the story of two well-to-do young people who grow apart and then together in the dangers of their first four married years; and the theme of the book is that trying to escape back into youth is dangerous: look ahead into the full middle period.

But whatever the subjects touched upon, "investigation" can go no deeper than the characters created; and the people of the book are standard-type at best, at worst purely convenient. As far as they go, the study is competent and sensible, though occasionally stuffy. As far as the reader goes, the writing has no felicity, the development is tedious, and its color is that of the Betterment book. The title is still right.

OTIS FERGUSON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Bronte Fantasies

The Brontë's Web of Childhood, by Fannie Elizabeth Ratchford. New York: Columbia University Press. 293 pages. $3.50.

THE MAGNIFICENTLY DEVELOPED modern techniques of literary research nowadays, unfortunately, must usually be wasted on worn-out subjects. All the histories have been written, since Saintsbury began his wide sweep through the fields of French and English literature; and the most searching looks have been cast at every fact pertaining to a particular author's life, from his marital problems to his dogs and cats. The field in the future is open, it would seem, only to those scholars who not only discover new facts, but make something human out of them: relate them to the whole of life, and, with full psychological eclecticism, interpret them as having something to do with human reality and human dream. The closed academic historical procedure is beginning to show a little greenness, not of growth, but of mold, around the edges.

Miss Ratchford's new book on the Brontës actually turns up new material. The "tedious little notebooks" in which three children of an Anglican clergyman, isolated on the edge of a town lately caught into the disruptions of the Industrial Revolution, wrote voluminously, were overlooked by biographers and commentators who kept their eyes upon the Brontë adult achievements. This material was overlooked, as well, by those worshipers of the Brontë legend who romantically wished to find in the curious Haworth situation something vaguely symbolic, or something dark and peculiar. The notebooks were scattered, it is true, in libraries and private collections ranging from the University of Texas Library to the British Museum. Miss Ratchford's integration of the material, a task extending over twenty years, is a true feat of scholarly research. At all points she shows unflagging enthusiasm for her task, great patience, sincerity and good will. Along with her sharp intelligence, her intuition was also operating; her luck is based on both.

In this book, however, it is apparent that Miss Ratchford has no clear idea of the profound worth of her discoveries. She has discovered not only the childishly derivative (from Blackwood's Magazine, Ossian, Byron and Scott, works on geography and "The Arabian Nights") juvenilia of a gifted family, but the whole fantasy-life of Charlotte, Branwell and Emily. The notebooks, "magazines" and stories, printed minutely by hand, in the case of Charlotte and Branwell are remarkable in their fullness of detail. Miss Ratchford's greatest success in research lies in her reconstruction from incomplete data of Emily's mythical country of Gondal; and in her relation of Emily's mature poems to this setting. But Emily is the person of whom she makes least, although the Emily material is richest and most startling. Miss Ratchford does realize the difference between the country of Emily and the countries of Branwell and Charlotte. Branwell furnished out his Glass Town fully, with political parties, newspapers, "great prose writers" and, most particularly, the infantile fantasy figures pertaining to war and conquest. Charlotte's imaginary country of Angria "was a completely amoral world where sin was shorn of its natural consequences, and such

Carrefour *announces*

+ HAMLET +

VOLUME II

by Henry Miller *and* Michael Fraenkel

(465 pgs.; $3.00)

Special Agents:
Gotham Book Mart, 51 West 47th Street, New York, N. Y.
Argus Book Shop, 16 N. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Grolier Book Shop, 6 Plympton Street, Cambridge, Mass.
Satyr Book Shop, 1620 N. Vine Street, Hollywood, Cal.

New Republic

SUPPLEMENTS

American Writing: 1941 The Voters' Handbook

Democratic Defense This Man Willkie

A National Policy for Defense

Single copies 10 cents; ten or more, 6 cents

THE NEW REPUBLIC

40 East 49th Street New York, N. Y.

Calling All Americans!

For your companion reading, subscribe to—

La Follette's PROGRESSIVE

KNOW THE OTHER SIDE OF THE WAR ISSUE!

Read the exposes of war propaganda and hysteria

- One of the nation's leading liberal weeklies, fighting to keep America out of Europe's blood bath and to save American democracy at home.
- Featuring Bob La Follette's weekly Washington editorial, Stuart Chase, Major Al Williams, Ernest L. Meyer, Oswald Garrison Villard, and Frank C. Hanighen.
- Special articles on the money question, the cooperative movement, the defense program, and tips on consumer buying.

★ ★ ★

Special Trial Offer—Act Now!

30 WEEKLY ISSUES FOR ONLY $1.00

Send your name, address, and $1.00 to Dept. M, The PROGRESSIVE Madison, Wisconsin

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

suffering as had to be admitted for romantic effect was an arbitrary visitation. Its people were good or bad, heroes or traitors according to their attitude toward the Byronic egoist, Zamorna" (otherwise known as Lord Arthur Wellesley, and the masculine-protest projection of Charlotte herself).

But with Emily, matters were different. "Emily with Anne [continuing] the development of Gondal, matched Angria character for character and expansion for expansion. Moving along parallels of contrast, free of basic contradictions and false sentimentality, Emily adhered undeviatingly to eternal principles of morality and human psychology. . . . She admitted no arbitrary force for good or evil; her Gondals were free moral agents following their own wills in accordance with circumstance." All this is true, but in the super-heroine Augusta Geraldine Almeda (a kind of female Don Juan, worked, in the Gondal poems, *directly into Emily's mature genius*) we are offered the complete key to Emily's hitherto baffling and incompletely apprehended nature. It is all there. If Miss Ratchford learns to use this extraordinary material (is willing to break down the barrier between the historical and psychological-critical approach), her second "essay into a comprehensive evaluation of the Brontë juvenilia" will be a great contribution toward the understanding of not only the workings of genius, but of the human psyche at large.

LOUISE BOGAN

Underground

Black Land, by George Korson. Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company. 72 pages. 58 cents in lots of five or more.

FOR MORE THAN THREE HUNDRED YEARS coal miners have dug coal. People use it in homes, forges, factories and on the railroads. But the men who keep us warm and keep the wheels of industry turning get no publicity except when flashy headlines of daily papers announce a shut-down of mines or a tragic explosion snuffing out the lives of many men.

At last their story has been written in a book by Mr. Korson about the way of life of these people. There are some six hundred thousand of them—with their families, about two and a half million people.

The author is well qualified to write on this subject. For many years he studied the folklore and ballads of the miners. He has published books about their songs and about their tales. And now when he describes their way of life he makes of it easy and absorbing reading, for he tells the story not as one who knew it, but as if he were a newspaper reporter quite ignorant of the subject, nosing around and learning things he never thought existed—placing himself in the position of his readers. While the book is published primarily as supplementary classroom reading (which means that it doesn't go into statistics, economics or engineering), it can be read by anyone who wants to know the human factor of our basic industry. It is a small book on a big subject and its seventy-two pages are richly illustrated by photographs which enhance the story.

WALTER N. POLAKOV

A Reader's List

THE SOUTH SEAS IN THE MODERN WORLD, by Felix M. Keesing (John Day, $3.50). A joint project of the Institute of Pacific Relations and the University of Hawaii, where the author is professor of anthropology. (Also the choice of the Scientific Book-of-the-Month Club.) An unbiased and realistic but human survey of the complex hodgepodge of the South Sea Islands—their natural resources, peoples, administrations; social, educational religious and cultural problems and probabilities; and political, strategic and economic role in today's world. A difficult job well handled and the only volume comprehending this material, which was coördinated from special investigations, conferences, documents, books and articles, personal research. Ninety-one pages of statistical appendices, bibliography and index; charts are few and poor.

HERESY AND INQUISITION IN NARBONNE, by Richard Wilder Emery (Columbia, $2.50). A scholarly attempt to explain the relative absence of heresy in an important French town during the thirteenth century while nearby towns were hotbeds of heresy. According to the author, the key to Narbonne's escape from the Inquisition lies in the absence of royal power. Much solid information on political, social and economic conditions.

NORTHWEST GATEWAY, The Story of the Port of Seattle, by Archie Binns (Doubleday, Doran, $3). The best written and least informative volume of the Seaport Series. The chapters on early Seattle are excellent, especially those dealing with Indian troubles (no one has written more sensibly and sympathetically about the Indian than Mr. Binns). But the modern industrial Seattle with its vast commerce and its serious labor problems is unaccountably ignored.

THE SUN IS MY UNDOING, by Marguerite Steen (Viking, $3). Here's a big blimp of an historical novel that never gets off the ground, although it has nosed its way onto the best-seller lists. For background there's the slave trade in the eighteenth century and assorted adventures and love affairs on three continents. Miss Steen's prose gets to be a drone that has you drowsy before you've read the first pound of her book.

Contributors

JOHN SCOTT was for the past two years the Moscow correspondent of The London News-Chronicle. He was expelled by the Russian government because of censorship difficulties two weeks before war broke out.

A. F. DICKERSON is a well known lighting engineer who was appointed manager of the General Electric Lighting Division in 1940. He is responsible for the idea of floodlighting Niagara Falls and served as illuminating engineer of the Golden Gate International Exposition.

BERTRAM D. WOLFE is the author of "Portrait of America," "Portrait of Mexico," in collaboration with Diego Rivera, and "Diego Rivera: His Life and Times," published by Alfred A. Knopf.

LOUISE BOGAN's books include "Body of This Death," "Dark Summer" and "The Sleeping Fury." She is the poetry reviewer of The New Yorker.

WALTER N. POLAKOV is a well known industrial engineer now living in Washington.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Selected Listing of Summer Places

ARMONK, N. Y.

BREEZEMONT PARK
ARMONK, N.Y.
"A Country Estate in the Scenic Hills of Westchester County"
If you choose your hotel with the same care and taste as you would your home, visit this nearby resort. Exclusive, dignified, luxuriously furnished. All sport facilities. Excellent cuisine. Less than 1 hour from N. Y. C. Open All Year. Phone Armonk Village 955

PHOENICIA, N. Y.

The Woodlands
FOR THE SPIRITED: Tennis - handball - swimming - ping-pong - badminton - archery - mountain trails - croquet - culinary masterpieces - fishing - boating.
FOR THE LAZYBONES: Well-stocked library - Art classes - crafts - dark room musical recordings - open fireplaces - spectacular country.
Labor Day Rates: $16 for 3 Full Days
SIGGIE GOLDNER, PHOENICIA, N. Y.

CHESTER, VERMONT

BEAUTIFUL COUNTRY, simple living, small group. $16 to $18 per week. For description write to Reland Gray, Ethan Allen Farm, R. F. D. No. 2, Chester, Vt.

HOPEWELL JUNCTION, N. Y.

HILLTOP LODGE
ON BEAUTIFUL SYLVAN LAKE
HOPEWELL JUNCTION, N. Y.
R. R. Station: Pawling, N. Y.
Telephone • Hopewell Junction 2761
• ONLY 65 MILES from N. Y. C.
Every Sport and Recreation
GOLF FREE ON PREMISES
LABOR DAY WEEK-END 3 Days $17 - Daily $6 | Sept. Rates $22.50 Daily Rate $4.50
Paul Wolfson and Sol Rothauser, Directors
N. Y. Office: 170 Broadway • CO 7-3958

VINALHAVEN, MAINE

THE BREAKERS
VINALHAVEN MAINE
An old New England farmhouse on the sea. Lobster, new peas, blueberry pie; a log fire; no radio.

WINGDALE, N. Y.

CAMP UNITY
Wingdale, N. Y.
Prepare Now For
VACATION FUN
CAMP CLOSES SEPTEMBER 7
SIDNEY BECHET And His New Orleans Feet Warmers
GALA LABOR DAY PROGRAM
Swimming, Boating, Tennis, Ball Games, Archery, Riding
Rates: $22 Weekly—$3.75 per Day
CAMP UNITY WINGDALE, N.Y. Wingdale 2461 Office: 1 Union Sq., N.Y.C. GR 7-1960

CENTRAL VALLEY, N. Y.

Birdland
Central Valley, N. Y.
Formerly Lewisohn's Estate. Open All Year
1 hour from N. Y. 225 acres of fascinating hiking country. Sports: everything—fast tennis courts, handball, bicycling, swimming, golf and horseback. Indoors: ping-pong, games, recordings, library, dancing, exceptional company, excellent cuisine, every comfort. Incomparable surroundings. Tel. Highland Mills 7895 Hostess: Fannie Goldberg

Please mention The New Republic in writing advertisers

APARTMENTS FOR RENT

31 West 82nd Street: 2½ rooms, attractive, fireplaces, hardwood floors, near Central Park, subway. $36-$40. See superintendent.

LITERARY HELP

TREATISES, RESEARCH PAPERS, SPEECHES. Special Articles, reviews, promptly prepared to requirements of busy professionals. Our extensive experience available at moderate rates, with assurance of scholarly serviceable results. AUTHORS RESEARCH BUREAU, 516 Fifth Ave., New York.

POSITION WANTED

YOUNG WOMAN, M.A. DEGREE Fine Arts, Crafts; Christian; available as teacher, assistant, accredited private school institution. Address: Box 304, The New Republic.

Coming soon in The New Republic

A Substitute for Imperialism

The last of a series of six editorial articles discussing various economic aspects of the war situation and post-war possibilities. Roosevelt's and Churchill's eight points contained one that Woodrow Wilson's fourteen omitted: the pledge of higher living standards throughout the world. How can it be made a reality? What are the first steps? Last time, the reconstruction of the war devastation was left to private capitalism. If the debacle which followed is not to be repeated, plans must be laid now.

Here is an immensely important challenge. Here in this article are concrete proposals for action to base a new world order on economic realities. Don't miss it.

THIRTEEN WEEKS' TRIAL SUBSCRIPTION ONE DOLLAR

FOR NEW READERS ONLY

THE NEW REPUBLIC
40 East 49th Street, New York, N. Y.

For the enclosed $1 (check or money order if possible) please send me The New Republic for the next thirteen weeks.

Name .....

Address .....

.....

9-1-41

Printed by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Never too busy to be Good Neighbors

THERE are a lot of workers in the Bell System — about 350,000 of them. That's a big family and it likes to be a friendly kind of family.

Whether it be the installer in the house, the people in our offices, the operators or the lineman on the roadside helping to rescue a stray kitten for a worried youngster, telephone workers are close to the public and the tradition of the job is helpfulness.

Even in these days when the needs of defense place sudden and increasing demands on telephone workers, they are never too busy to be good neighbors.

Bell Telephone System

"The Telephone Hour" is broadcast every Monday. (N.B.C. Red Network, 8 P.M., Eastern Daylight Saving Time.)

LIBRARY
STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED